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AUTHOR McClure, Erica; Wentz, James
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ABSTRACT

A group of Mexican-American children living in a small Illinois town were observed to study the acquisition of communicative competence. The children's spontaneous and elicited narratives showed combinations of Spanish and English. If three stories represented here are considered syntactically, none involves random alternation of codes. Almost all switches involve entire sentences. In spontaneous narratives, there is much less code-switching than in the elicited stories. English stories contain almost none, Spanish only a little switching. Switching primarily involves nouns, or marks quotations. Asides to the audience or expression of special ideas may cause a language switch. Code-switching seems to follow a pattern, and language dominance may explain why switching to find the right word is more prevalent when speaking Spanish than English. (CHK)

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CODE-SWITCHING IN CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES

Erica McClure and Jim Wentz
University of Illinois

For the past two years we have been studying the acquisition of communicative competence among a group of Mexican-American children in a small town in Illinois. In the course of our research we have found that many of the children enjoy taking the role of narrator. Their spontaneous narratives range from descriptions of past events, through scenarios of recently seen movies or television programs and retellings of traditional stories, to the creation of new stories involving well-known characters. The data to be discussed here include both these spontaneous narratives and also those elicited in response to a request for stories told in a combination of Spanish and English.

Let us first consider the following narrative elicited from Tibaldo, a nine year-old boy:

Woody Woodpecker was walking...down the road. He met a squirrel. The squirrel le gritó. Then Woody Woodpecker pecked on the tree, and the squirrel dijo, "Qué estás haciendo?" And Woody Woodpecker answers, "Nothing." And then Woody Woodpecker said, "Qué hora son?"

"Eight o'clock. What d'ya wanna know?" (Sq)
"Tengo que ir a...una fiesta." (WW)
"OK. I'll see ya later." He says, "Where ya goin' now?" (Sq)
"To the mailbox." (WW)
"What for?" (Sq)
"Entrego una carta." (WW)
"Pa' qué?" (Sq)
"Pa' 'cer...pa' dar una carta." (WW)
"A qué horas?" (Sq)
"A las diez. Que ya son las diez. Mamma mía! Me llevas?" (WW)
"OK. Let's go in my car. Brrrm!" (Sq)
"OK. What time is it now?" (WW)
"Ten-thirty. Ya've mucho tiempo. OK. Get off." (Sq)
"What for?" (WW)
"You said you were gonna go to the mail." (Sq)
"Ah, I thought I forget it." (WW)
"I wasted gas for nothing!" (Sq)
"Qué tiene? (aside to the audience) Take me to the party." (WW)
"OK. Vamos!" (Sq)

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Ah, so they went to the party, and they got to the party on time. It was about eleven o'clock, and they got there.

"No vas a ir tú a la fiesta?" Woody Woodpecker said to the squirrel. The squirrel said, "Nah, forget it. I didn't meet my girl friend tonight." Woody Woodpecker said, "Bueno, como quiera, yo puedo ir solo." Then the squirrel says, "Yo también, pero no quiero."

Then the squirrel left. Woody Woodpecker was scared to death. He was nervous 'cause he didn't have somebody with him, so he went to call his grandmother. Grandmother wasn't there. He called all his relatives in the world, till he found out that all his uncles and aunts were dead. Then he went inside and found out that the party was over. He had too much time callin' everybody. So he went home. He called his grandmother to tell...to tell her qué? (Narrator's self directed query) que lle...que, que no fue a la fiesta, ah,...de su hermana, y...y...The grandmother said, "Por qué no fuistes?"

"Didn't have time. I called all my aunts and uncles see if they can come with me."

And Grandmother said, "Well, you wasted too much time sonny."

"OK! I'm gonna go now," and said, "goodbye!" And... he hung up the phone, and he called the taxi, and the taxi came to pick him up. And he says, "Pa'ónde vas?"

"Oh, Main Street. Take forty-four four five forty-four four five forty-four four five..." And the taxi driver said, "How many times you gonna repeat it?"

"Sixteen times, so you know that." He (taxi driver) said, "Man, you must have a big sign."

They got there and...ahm, Woody Woodpecker said, "Híjole! Ya era una día muy noche." And then he said, "Wow! This is a horrible night. I better go to sleep, or not I'm gonna get up tomorrow. I have to get up and go get some water for the birds." He said, "Well, anyway I have to get some for me too."

He went to sleep and woke up the next morning, and he saw this girl that was a woodpecker, and her name was something he couldn't find out, so he keep askin' her every minute, but she said she wouldn't tell her (him) till they got to the party, and...they had a party again.

Y luego le dijo que se vaya pa' la casa, y allí le llamaron al télefon, porque le quiere que era su nombre. Y luego dijo que su nombre era "Nada". Y le dijo, "Nada? Eso es tu nombre?" And he (she) said, "Yeah, that's my

name."

75 Then they got together and got married, and they lived happily ever after.

In this story the introduction and closing are in English. Indeed, the latter "and they lived happily ever after" is formulaic, a traditional ending for many stories. The description of action is likewise in English. Spanish occurs in several secondary usages: a self-directed query in which the narrator questions himself aloud as to how the narrative should proceed, (line 43); two verbs (lines 2 & 3) both of which refer to speech, and in a rather extensive lead-in to a Spanish pun on nada, "nothing" (line 72). The narrator had been heard to make a pun on nada on two previous occasions:

Researcher: Tú, qué sabes?
Tibaldo: Nada.
Researcher: You're a party pooper!
Tibaldo: I told you it was nada!

Researcher: Con qué se hace eso?
Tibaldo: Con nada.

Consequently, it would appear that this pun was not generated spontaneously in the course of the development of the narrative in question. Rather, it seems to be part of the narrator's set stock of forms of verbal play. It may be that puns, even those which can be translated easily, are used only in the language in which they were originally learned. Perhaps the children can appreciate puns and can use them appropriately but can neither generate nor translate them easily.

The preponderance of Spanish in the above narrative occurs in dialogues. Both direct and indirect quotations occur in Spanish. It is interesting to note that the dialogue shifts back and forth between Spanish and English. A question in Spanish may be answered in English or vice-versa. A conversation may proceed for a while in one language then switch to the other and perhaps switch back again. This language alternation is a reflection of what we have observed frequently in interactions between the children and the Anglo teacher of the bilingual class, the project researchers, and, to a lesser degree, their own parents. We have also observed conversations among children which switched back and forth.[1] Clearly, the children studied do not perceive as aberrant a conversation which alternates between two languages. There appears to be no strong conversational rule among the children requiring them to respect the language choice of a bilingual interlocutor.

However, language alternation is not random in the children's conversations[2], nor is it random in the above story. Each turn of speech of a character is wholly in one language, with the exception of those occurring in lines 20, 25-26 and 60-64. In lines 25-26, the switch is accounted for by the fact that in the first part of line 25 Woody Woodpecker is addressing the audience asking the question, "Qué tiene?" (What's the matter with him?) in reference to the squirrel, whereas "Take me to the party" (lines25-26) is used to address the squirrel. Line 60 appears to be a false start. It makes little sense and is apparently corrected in line 61. Line 20 contains the only example of an intra-sentential code-switch in the entire narrative. We cannot offer an explanation of its presence other than to say it is probably the result of performance rather than competence factors. However, this type of code-switch involving a noun phrase which is part of the verb phrase is one of the most common types of code-switch in the ordinary speech of the children studied.

The alternation between the two languages in this story is very facile, presenting no problem to the narrator. The only possible instance of interference[3] occurs in lines 61-62, "I better go to sleep or not I'm gonna get up tomorrow." This might have been generated on the model of Spanish syntax: ...o no me voy a levantar.

The second narrative, also elicited from Tibaldo, is given below:

Una vez, había un señor que llamaba James. James would always go into the woods and look out for animals. One day, a spider bit him, y dijo, "Ya me duele el pie." And he turned out...he got webby. He got sticky. Then he said, 'Me 'toy haciendo un hombre de una araña! Híjole! Mamma mía! Oooh!" And then the man, James, got excited, and he said, "My name should be Spiderman, and every time a crime committed, we'd go to it."

One day, this man was walking across the street, y dijo, le dijo otro hombre, "OK, te vas a ir pa'allá... pa'el sur?" And he said, "'Tá bueno," and he said, "vamos a robar una tienda." And they went to a store and they robbed, and Spiderman was after 'em. Dijo, y lo, and then they said, "There goes Spiderman!" Dice, "Los 'tá siguiendo." Dice, "Ya los va...Ya los está siguiendo muy cerquitas." Vámonos!" 'N they went 'n they got away in the get-away car. Spiderman was in back. He put a spider web in front of two and between two buildings. They caught

'em. And then Spiderman said, "Bueno, ya los pescabarás. We need a prişon." Then they got there and when they got there they had this special knife that would cut anything, and they got out, and they were alert on the wanted signs, and everything, y luego le dijo la policía, "Spiderman, tú vas a ir a pescarlos."

"OK! I'll go catch 'em."

And then he went to catch 'em, and he spun his web and everything, till he caught 'em, and then they put him in jail, and that was the end.

This story opens with a formulaic Spanish introduction, "Una vez había...", and it ends with an English closing. As in the first story the description of events takes place in English, while both Spanish and English are used in dialogue and the introduction to dialogue. Interestingly, an English introduction occurs before both Spanish (lines 80-81; 87; 87-88; 95) and English (lines 83 & 90) quotations, while a Spanish introduction is found only to quotations in Spanish (lines 79; 86; 99). There is one exception (in line 89), but it is corrected in the next line by the narrator. It would appear that the story is essentially an English story despite its Spanish opening. The use of Spanish for some quotations probably is meant to imply that the characters actually used Spanish in speaking at that point in the conversation.

In this story as in the first we find alternation between English and Spanish within a conversation. There is, however, a difference. In this narrative one character, Spiderman, twice switches between English and Spanish within one turn of speech (lines 79-84; 95-96). In both cases it appears that the more affect-laden portion of the speech turn is in Spanish and the less affect-laden portion in English. In lines 79-84, expressions of pain and startled discovery are in Spanish, whereas the more neutral statement about a new name occurs in English. Likewise in lines 95-96 a statement announcing success in the capture of the hunted criminals is in Spanish, while the matter of their disposition is handled in English. The only other instance in which Spiderman speaks (line 101) supports the notion that his speech alternates between Spanish and English according to affect. That speech, which occurs in English, appears to be created by the narrator as a matter-of-fact acceptance of an order, since neither its intonation nor wording conveys any feeling of emphasis, excitement, etc. The use within a narrative of alternation between Spanish and English to mark strong affect would seem both natural and appropriate as such an alternation has been noted in the conversations of the narrator and his peers.[4]

Lines 89-92 might be considered to be an example of alternation in language motivated by some factor other than affect. However, the authors feel that these lines involve shifts in speakers. "Vámonos!" is clearly uttered by the robbers, but "There goes Spiderman!" appears to be uttered by bystanders in the story. It is reminiscent of phrases such as "It's a bird! It's a plane! It's Superman!" Such exclamations by "the man on the street" are stock portions of many narratives concerning comic-book heroes with special powers. Moreover, if the phrase "There goes Spiderman" were uttered by the robbers, it would more appropriately have had the form "Here comes Spiderman!" The phrases "Los 'tá siguiendo..Ya los va...ya los está siguiendo," appear to be uttered by one bystander as opposed to a large group as a whole, for they are introduced by a singular verb, "dijo", rather than the plural one "dijeron". Again, it does not seem likely that these lines were said by the robbers as the pronominal reference in the quotation is to "los" (them) rather than "nos" (us). We say "not likely" here, because the children have been known to make pronoun mistakes.

Line 99 is of interest in that it contains a name in one language in a sentence of another language. It is phonologically unadapted to Spanish. In addition, the name is one which might have been translated to Spanish. The fact that it was not reflects a regular pattern in the speech of the children studied. In neither the narrative nor the conversational mode do the children translate English names and titles into Spanish when Spanish is being spoken. They do, nevertheless, translate Spanish names and titles into English occasionally when speaking English.

Our third narrative was elicited from Ernesto, a 12 year-old boy:

105 There was this scientist who...uh, was a doctor. Well, he was planning to be a doctor, and this kid named, le llamó Frankenstein. Y dij...and he said, "That ain't my name. That isn't my name, it's Frinkinsteen." And the kid said, "I thought it was Frankenstein." He said, "No! It's Frink-
110 insteen." Y luego, los otros trajeron un hombre, and he kicked 'em in the mid-section stomach, and he bowed and then, y luego, le puso un fierro en la cabeza, and then he hit him on the stomach, didn't hurt him...then, y luego se lo quitó. Then he was shakin'. Then, luego se fue para Pennsylvania,
115 y 'taba un hombre esperándolo, 'tá viniendo. He came and name was Igor, and he was so funny. He went, "Hello!" Y luego lo llevó pa' la casa, y estaba esta muchacha bonita. And there was big knockers on the door about so big (gestures), and he said, "Man! What big knockers!" And the
120 girl said, "I don't mind.! (audience laughter) Thank you!

(narrator to audience) She meant...(gestures)

And then, y luego...se lo llevó, y esta señora se llamaba...yo no sé cómo pero--it was a funny name (aside to audience). And, y luego cuando, when they said her name the horses all went (imitates horse sound), and then they killed this guy. Y luego, he found his grandfather's books, and he made a young Frankenstein, and he taught him how to walk and then he got mad. He turned on fire. He started getting mad and he started chok...le ahor...lo estaba ahorcando Frankenstein. Y luego lo puso, luego...then... the lady turned him loose and he got mad, and he was trying he...this blind man--man you're gonna see this creep--(aside) he said he was gonna pour some soup on his plate, on his bowl, I mean, and instead of the bowl put it on him, on his legs. And he went, "Ahhh!" Then he broke his wine bottle. Y luego, he...le quemó el dedo gordo...el gordo. Y, and then, he left. Then...he taught him how to dance, talk, and uhm, then he got so mad...nervous, and he got loose, and the whole people locked him up and luego le metió en un cuarto y el señor dijo, "I don't care. I don't care what you hear or what you...what I'm saying, don't open this door!" Then when he went in he said,"Get me the hell out of here! Don't listen to what I said! They didn't do what he said, and then he said, "Oh, my poor baby, what have they done to you?" He said, "Nobody likes you. Everybody has been insulting you." And then he starts crying, and then, that's when he starts talking to all that dance. And then he runs away, and then he gets this girl...Frankenstein took her and started kissing her. And then she went, "I think I'm in love with this monster." Y luego se vino pa'atrás o algo, y luego el profesor ...put his mind to the monster's mind, and then the monster's mind was on the doctor's, and the whole thing was gonna kill him.

(Researcher: "Iban a matarlo.")

Iban a matarlo. Thank you (to researcher). Y...and then Frankenstein said, "Put that man down." He said, y luego el hombre dijo, "Qué? Este, el monstruo habló?" Y luego el otro dice, "No he's just not talking." Luego dice, "Pon ese hombre pa'abajo!" And he did. And then he got up, y entonces se conocieron. Y luego dijo, "Vamos pa' la mería." Y luego se casaron ésta y éste. Y luego la señora fue, 'n went (gestures), and then, y luego fue asina (gestures). Y luego, ya se acabó. Thank you! Thank you! Thank you! Thank you!

The third narrative opens in English and closes with a regular Spanish formula. However, in this case, unlike the previous two, there is a distinction between the close of the narrative, which is accomplished by the use of the Spanish phrase, "Ya se acabo," and the ending of the performance, which is marked by "Thank you! Thank you! Thank you! Thank you!" (Lines 164-165) The latter emphasizes the role of the narrator as performer whose function is to amuse his audience. The intrusion of the narrator as performer, as opposed, say, to clarifier, is characteristic of the style of the second narrator though not of the first. It is also seen in line 120 in which the narrator acknowledges the fact that his pun has been appreciated, and in line 156 in which he sarcastically acknowledges an unsolicited prompt from the audience.

In each case in which the narrator steps away from the story and focuses on his own performance, English is used despite the fact that in two of the three cases the digressions follow Spanish utterances. However, in each case the aside consisted merely of thank you. Since set expressions which are part of speech etiquette usually occur in English, even in the Spanish conversations of the children studied, it would be interesting to know whether the digressions would still have been in English, if they had been more elaborate than just set expressions. We suspect that the answer is "yes", as the children show a marked preference for the use of English in conversations with others who understand it, and the narrator's remarks discussed here are part of a one-sided conversation with his audience rather than part of the narrative. Line 132, "--man you're gonna see this creep--", while not a reference to the narrator's performance, constitutes another direct address to the audience. It is so marked by intonation and stylistic change;(note e.g. the use of "man".) This direct address too is in English. The narrator's presence is explicitly marked in two other segments of the story as well. In line 134 there is a self-correction containing the phrase "I mean," and in line 123, "yo no se como pero--it was a funny name,"[5] the narrator tells us he does not know the name of one of the characters in the story. We feel that these are intrusions of the narrator into the story, rather than an attempt to direct the behavior of the audience, and so differ from the former examples. The choice of the language in which they occur also appears to be differently motivated than in the previous examples. Here, what is important is that a shift out of the narrative mode is marked by a language shift.

This story, like the first one, contains a pun, in this case on "knockers." Just as in the first story, the desire to make a pun occasions a code-switch. Here too, the narrator apparently felt that the switch could not be made directly in the line containing

the pun, in this case line 119: "Man! What big knockers!" Rather, the switch is made sufficiently far in advance to lead smoothly into the pun (line 118). The listener is given sufficient time to form a language set which will facilitate recognition of the multiple meaning of the crucial term.

We have up to this point discussed only code-shifts between two languages. This story also seems to contain stylistic code-shifts within English. Line 107 contains a quotation which begins as "That ain't my name," but that sentence is immediately followed by "That isn't my name." Since we have heard the narrator use "ain't" on many occasions in conversation, we conclude that the correction to "isn't" is motivated by either a feeling that the form "ain't" is not appropriate to story telling, or a feeling that "ain't" is in appropriate in the speech of a doctor. Since the speech of a different character which is reported in line 119 is informal, we suspect that the correction in line 108 was occasioned by the fact that this line contains a quotation from a doctor. What is for the narrator a formal style is also maintained throughout the English descriptive narration. Except in quotations, formality is broken only in an aside to the audience in line 132.

The third narrative differs significantly from the other two. In the first two, Spanish was uded solely in quotations and in a couple of introductions to Spanish quotations. In the third story Spanish also occurs in descriptive narration and in introductions to English quotations. However, the proportion of English to Spanish[6] is greater than two to one. There are 42 descriptive sentences in English compared to 21 descriptive sentences in Spanish; 13 English introductory phrases to quotations and 5 in Spanish; 20 quoted sentences in English and 5 in Spanish; 6 isolated[7] English conjunctions and 6 Spanish ones; 6 English partial sentences and two in Spanish. Among the children studied the preponderance of English over Spanish is characteristic not just of narratives but of speech events of all types in which both languages occur, provided participants are fluent in both languages.

The different strategy for the use of Spanish found in Ernesto's story is associated with a far greater number of false starts than one finds in Tibaldo's two stories. In the 76 lines of Tibaldo's first story there are three false starts, one of which involves a language switch. In the 28 lines of Tibaldo's second story there are also three false starts, none of which involves a language switch. In the 60 lines of Ernesto's story there are twenty false starts, sixteen of which involve language switches. Ten are switches from English to Spanish, six from Spanish to English.

Twelve of the false starts involve switches within a single stretch of narrative description, that is, one which is uninterrupted by quotations. Nine of these involve transitions from English to Spanish and three from Spanish to English. Three false starts involve introductions to quotations, beginning first in the opposite language from the quotation (maintaining the language of the preceding descriptive sentence), and they are corrected to agree with the language of the quotation. There are no false starts at the transition from quotations to descriptions. The impression one derives from the above data is that Tibaldo's way of using Spanish in narrative--mainly in quotations--is more natural than Ernesto's.

Another type of language interference occurs in lines 163 and 164. It concerns the use of the verb ir in one of the ways its translation equivalent go may be used in English--namely, to introduce a description of an action, verbal or otherwise. Ir is not normally used in this manner even by the children studied. It, like the false starts described above, is probably a performance error rather than an example of interference at the level of competence.

Before we proceed to a discussion of code-switching in spontaneous narratives, let us note one important aspect which all three of the above stories have in common. Considered syntactically, none of them involves random alternation of codes. Almost all switches involve entire sentences. Moreover, those few that are intrasentential switches do not involve alternations which straddle major constituent boundaries.

The first thing we notice in spontaneous narratives is that there is much less code-switching than in the stories cited above. Stories in English contain almost none. We have several transcribed stories of comparable length to the three above in which there is no Spanish at all. Another narrative of over 2500 words contains only three Spanish words. Slightly more English occurs in Spanish narratives. In one story of approximately 400 words, nine are in English, while in yet another of 1000 words, forty-five are in English. The fact that more English occurs in Spanish narratives than vice-versa is in accord with what we observe in other modes of speech--conversation, instruction, etc.

If we look at the switches which do occur, we find that they involve primarily nouns (e.g. gas, movie-star, spider webs, babies, bones in Spanish narratives and ojos in an English narrative.) One narrator evidently felt that even code-switched nouns constitute a violation of the normal linguistic rules governing narratives.

When he used such nouns having standard translations in the local dialect, he corrected himself. For example, the following sequences occurred: "su bones, sus huesos; sus babies, sus bebitos". But no correction followed the use of the term movie-star which seems to have been incorporated into the local Spanish lexicon, since there is no local Spanish equivalent. Occasionally switches involving other syntactic units also seem to be due to an inability, temporary or otherwise, to express a particular idea in the language of the narrative. Thus, we find such sequences as "se ponen fake" and "one bigger than the other" embedded in predominantly Spanish narratives.

Code-switching to mark quotations also occurs. Examples are: "y dijo que, 'am sorry'",[8] which occurred in a long Spanish story which was almost entirely in a descriptive mode, and the following sequence which occurred in a conversation among girls:

> Then Michael told Don Pablo, "sabes quién es la novia de Hector?" Y luego dijo a Hector que era yo. And then I go, "Oh! I hap...so happy!"

In Spanish narratives quotations appear in the language in which they originally occurred. This phenomenon among adults has been described by Lance.

Shifts out of the story may also be marked by code-switching. The following are examples:

> I know a story of pigs, and I know a story of Wizard of Oz. (Pauses as if in preparation to begin the story) Así no va. Espérate. O...Sonny and Cher, OK? Sonny and Cher. It was raining...

> Y le dijo, "Yo no sé nada." Luego no va a saber nada. No sé. Let me say that again. Ah...yo no sé nada...yo no sé nunca. Luego dijo que no iba a saber todo el día y con no sé, con no sé, que no sé. That's the end.

> Cayó el reloj que le regaló ella. Y luego, OK, I will be finished in a minute. Y luego el otro ...

All of these examples represent comments by the narrator on his performance. The first two mark a difficulty in performance. The latter two contain information about the duration of the performance. Now, a different type of aside and one which also involves a code-

switch is found in the following: "El es oué, you know". This contains an appeal to the audience to fill in information.

Another cause for code-switching is the fact that by and large titles are not translated. Thus we find such sequences as, "Then Michael told Don Pablo" and "Este hombre que se llamaba Doctor Death se casó con una muchacha."

In summary, the following observations may be made. Code-switching may occur as part of narrative style. However it occurs much less frequently in spontaneous narratives than in narratives where children have been specifically requested to code switch. Indeed, code-switching appears to be significantly less frequent in spontaneous narratives than in conversations. Perhaps the children generally use different speech styles for conversation and narration which are partially defined by the strictures on code-switching. In the less formal conversational style, code-switching occurs relatively freely, while in the more formal narrative style it is allowed only for specific purposes. These purposes include marking quotations, asides to the audience, and comments on the performance; bounding the narrative (i.e. openings and closings); introducing and making puns; preserving titles in their original form; and providing expression to an idea which may not be expressable by the narrator in the language of narration. This problem in finding the right word seems more prevalent when the children speak Spanish than when they speak English and is, perhaps, a measure of language dominance. Finally, let us note that we believe that there are syntactic restrictions on code-switching. In spontaneous narratives switching occurs primarily at the level of the noun or phrases which behave as nouns. In the elicited narratives, it took place primarily at the sentence level, but in neither case did elements appear to be randomly code-switched.

NOTES

[1]For a more detailed analysis of conversational code-switching among these children see McClure and McClure, 1974; McClure and Wentz, 1975.

[2]See McClure and McClure, 1974; McClure and Wentz, 1975; Wentz and McClure, 1975.

[3]Genuine cases of interference between Spanish and English syntax are rare in most of the children's language.

[4]See McClure and McClure, 1974; McClure and Wentz, 1975.

[5]These lines represent a shift out of the narrative in two steps. See Wentz and McClure, 1975.

[6]"Sentence" as used for statistical purposes amounts to a "clause". It implies a conjugated verb, an actual or understood subject, and possibly an object and/or adverb. This simplistic definition worked due to the simplicity of the structures used in the narratives.

[7]An isolated conjunction is one where the sentence following the conjunction is in a different language than the conjunction.

[8]The fact that the VP "am sorry" occurs without a subject may be the result of interference from Spanish in which a surface NP is not required in subject position.

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